2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux.

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or

reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

"Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the

● 105 preceding chapters:[2]

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

1[See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

2[See cat. 116, pp. 3 b-46a -- Analyst] - 47a

0105 Bosnia were Nordic in cranial type. A minority consisted of planoccipital brachycephals.

3. The mountaineers have retained the core of their ancient language and the essential features of their original culture—in technology and social behavior—into the time period covered by our study.

4. From Roman times onward they have lived by a typically Iron Age regional and ethnic division of labor. The mountaineers farm and tend their herds, and exchange their raw and home-processed surplus materials with townsmen along their borders, receiving in exchange processed goods and skilled services.

5. The Romans introduced Christianity, which had little if any effect on their way of life. If anything it fortified their exogamic system of mating.

6. The mountains have been overpopulated since almost the first settlement. This has caused feuding and emigration. Many have left the mountains to settle elsewhere, few have entered.

7. At several periods outside peoples have seized control over the Drin highway and, to varying degrees of effectiveness, its more accessible side valleys. The Romans built the road, and Slavs and Turks followed them over it.

8. The Turks massacred many Ghegs in the Malsia e Madhe country. The wholly and partly empty villages were repopulated by immigrants from Bosnia. These were Catholic tribesmen, who spoke the parent language, Illyrian, in a semi-Romanized form. It differed little from the speech of the Ghegs themselves. These people were, in fact, a reinforcement from the earlier Gheg homeland, thrust out by the pressure of Slavs and Turks. They were a second wave of migration.

9. The Turks introduced firearms and fortified castles (*kullas*), thus increasing the tempo of feuding.

10. They also converted many of the mountaineers to Islam. This meant that Moslem Ghegs could circulate freely in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In some of the Moslem areas the Gheg system of mating has become less strongly exogamic.

11. From the standpoint of theoretical genet-

● 105 ics, the Mountain Gheg population forms a (for Europeans) peculiarly closed breeding unit, within which mating proceeds along known rules. Except for the Bosnian invasion a dozen generations before the date of our sample, no new genetic elements of numerical importance can have been added since the first Iron Age settlement.

12. The Bosnians, who were derived from the same population as the earlier Gheg im-

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

105 migrants, settled north of the Drin, mostly in Malsia e Madhe. Their descendants have, by and large, remained there.

13. The tribal Ghegs grow their own food, village by village, and eat almost exclusively local products. Since their country varies greatly in geological base material, this series offers a splendid chance to study local growth differences in relation to differences in mineral soil content.

000 THIS chapter need not be long. It will consist merely of a restatement of the problem, a review of the evidence, and a conclusion.

105 1. The problem is, what is a Dinaric, and how does he come to be one? The Gheg mountaineers were selected as subjects for this experiment because they seemed to be the most Dinaric people in the world, and because they are located in an area ideal for controls.

2. The mountains in which they live prove to be a true refuge, difficult of access, conservative in every sense.

3. The work of the Gheg keeps him and his family busy at home. It utilizes all of the available soil, and the limit of the number of people whom it can support has long since been reached in terms of the techniques employed. The few craftsmen who come into it to work, like the castle-builders, move on. The Mountains of Giants, like the Highlands of Scotland, export men. None are imported.

4. The mountaineer chooses his bride by a time-honored system which, while sociologically exogamous, biologically keeps the genes within very close lines.

5. His political system provides local autonomy and keeps people home. Feuding keeps men home, too, or, if they lose, sees that they are exiled completely out of the mountains.

6. Religious differences help block marriage with outsiders. Neither Catholics nor Moslems will marry Orthodox. Except in a few regions it segregates Catholics and Moslems as well, and has done so for 4 centuries.

7. The historical picture is reasonably clear. Except for the lowlands along the coast, the tribal area was probably uninhabited, or nearly so, until the second half of the first millennium B.C. Illyrians moved down from the northwest, following the mountains, and settled it. Some Thracians may have entered from the east, and a few Goths straggled into the country around the fork of the Drin. No real addition to the basic Illyrian population took place until the 16th century. At that time the Turks massacred whole villages all the way

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

105 from Durazzo to Scutari, and in the region of Malsia e Madhe and the lower reaches of Dukagin. To replace the nearly exterminated population, immigrants arrived from the land from which the first ancestors of the Ghegs had come—Bosnia.

000 8. The series which we have studied covers all of the tribes, most of the *bairaks*, and many of the villages. Except for a few tribes within which the regional distribution is uneven, it gives a true coverage of the anthropometry of the mountain people.

9. It defines the Mountain Gheg as a Dinaric of the classic type, as expected, but with wide variations. These are concentrated in gross body size and strength, the size and shape of the cranial vault, and in a few local peculiarities such as the incidence of bilateral chins, baldness, and deep lumbar curves. The greatest uniformity is found in the breadths and proportions of the face, the dimensions and morphology of the nose, hair form and distribution, and pigmentation. The characters which are most uniform are the ones most likely to be genetically controlled; most of those which are most variable are those which the environment can affect the most.

10. Many of these latter differences can be tentatively eliminated or equated by the use of certain controls: age, dental occlusion, nutrition, and the effects of cradling.

11. A few others cannot, as, in Dukagin, the high frequency of brown hair, lambdoid flattening, bilateral chins, and broad shoulders. This points to the presence of a genetic element much less evident in the other tribes, except, in lesser degree, in Malsia e Madhe. Similarly the men of Has, who marry often with their fellow Albanians on the Kossovo plain, have a few peculiarities of their own, particularly a tendency to more baldness, more black hair, and a slightly darker skin. These characters would relate them to the people farther east.

12. Despite all the controls, an east-west gradient remains in head and face form. The people to the northwest are broader headed,